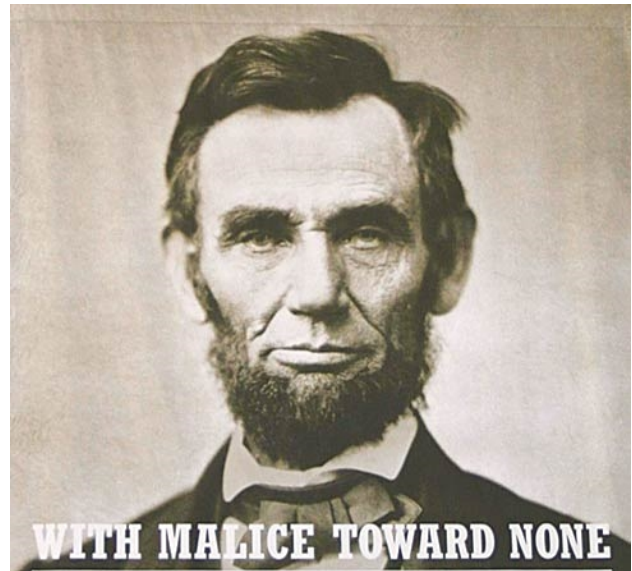


# Reconstructing the South



## Classwork packet

Ms. Vanderpool

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Per. \_\_\_\_

*“With malice towards none... WITH CHARITY FOR ALL; WITH FIRMNESS IN THE RIGHT, AS GOD GIVES US TO SEE THE RIGHT, LET US STRIVE ON TO FINISH THE WORK WE ARE IN; TO BIND UP THE NATION’S WOUNDS; TO CARE FOR HIM WHO SHALL HAVE BORNE THE BATTLE, AND FOR HIS WIDOW AND HIS ORPHAN—TO DO ALL WHICH MAY ACHIEVE AND CHERISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AMONG OURSELVES, AND WITH ALL NATIONS.*

Abraham Lincoln, March 4, 1865

1. Re-phrase in your own words.

2. What, according to Pres. Lincoln, is the goal of Reconstruction?

\* The last days of the Confederacy were clearly at hand in the early spring of 1865. One impassioned Confederate sympathizer, the famous actor John Wilkes Booth, wanted to take action to help the rebel cause, and organized a group of like-minded individuals to kidnap President Lincoln. However, his plans kept coming unraveled. Frustrated, he began to think of killing the President instead.

Mr. Lincoln continued to press forward on the war. He was sworn into office for a second term, an occasion marked by the delivery of a classic speech in which he reflected on the past history of the war and presented his hopes for the future.

# How should the North and South come together as a nation?

Attendees: Frederick Douglass, John Brown, Abraham Lincoln, newly freed slave, Robert E. Lee, northern factory worker, southern plantation owner, resident of Atlanta, northern congressman, southern congressman

Directions: (1) Group the characters above and explain the basis of your grouping. (2) Complete the chart with what you think the group may have said.

Groups →	
How and when should Southern states be allowed back into the Union? Should the South be 'occupied'?	
Should the South be 'punished'? Allowed to quickly recover?	
Should the races have equal rights? Are there obstacles to enacting/protecting equal rights?	
Who should pay for rebuilding the South?	

# *Aftershock: Beyond the Civil War*

**Instructions:** As you watch the excerpts fill in the following information.  
What problems did the following groups face following the Civil War?

White Southerners:

Newly Freed Slaves:

What issues needed to be addressed in a Reconstruction policy?

How were the plans of Lincoln and Johnson similar? How were they different?

# Presidential vs. Congressional Reconstruction

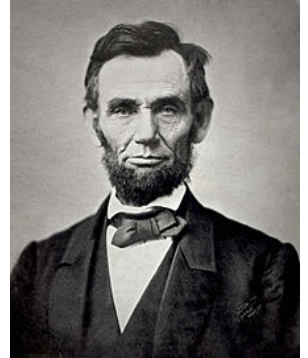
The debate begins with Abraham Lincoln's and Andrew Johnson's view of Reconstruction. Lincoln's remarks were made on April 11, 1865, in what was to be his last public speech. Three days later, he was assassinated. The task of Reconstruction then fell to Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln as President. In his first annual message to Congress, on December 4, 1865, Johnson sought to justify his Reconstruction policy.

## Abraham Lincoln

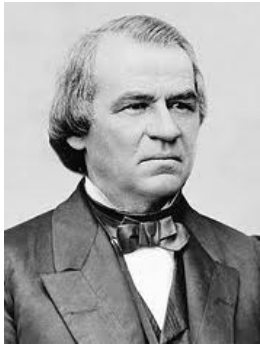
The reestablishment of national authority—reconstruction—is filled with great difficulty. I have been shown a letter in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question of whether the seceded states are in the Union or out of it. I have *purposely* avoided any public expression upon the question. Any discussion of it could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. That question is good for nothing at all; it is merely a damaging and dangerous abstraction.

We all agree that the seceded states are out of their proper practical relation with the Union; and that the sole object of the government in regard to those states is to restore that proper practical relation. I believe it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these states have been out of the Union.

Finding them safely at home, it doesn't matter whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing what is necessary to restore these states to their proper relation with the Union.



## Andrew Johnson



The fact is that all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void. The states cannot commit treason any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with a foreign power. The states attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired but not extinguished; their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

There is need for a spirit of mutual agreement and goodwill. All parties in the late terrible conflict must work together in harmony. On the one side, the desire to maintain the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the abolition of slavery forever within the limits of our country. The adoption of the amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption. It heals the wound that is still imperfectly closed. It removes slavery, the element which has so long confused and divided the country. It makes of us once more a united people.

## Follow-Up Questions:

What question about Reconstruction does Lincoln say he has purposely avoided answering? Why has he done this?

According to Lincoln, what is the purpose of Reconstruction?

Why does Johnson use the word pretended to describe acts of secession?

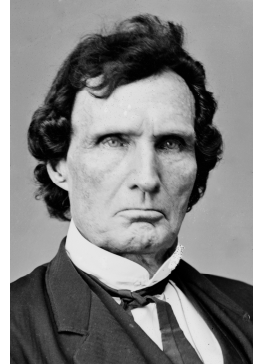
What does Johnson call on each side to do?

The Congressional group known as Radical Republicans disagreed sharply with the plan for Reconstruction put forth by Lincoln and Johnson, which they felt was much too lenient. The view of two of the most extreme Radical Republicans, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and George Julian of Indiana, appear below.

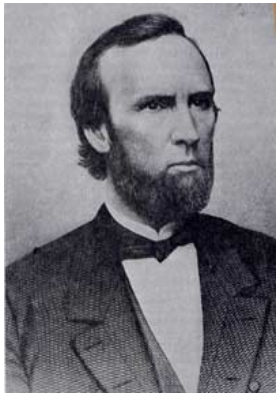
### Thaddeus Stevens

We hold it to be the duty of the Government to inflict deserved punishment on the rebel belligerents, and so weaken their hands that they can never again endanger the Union. We especially insist that the property of the chief rebels should be seized and used for the payment of the national debt, caused by the unjust and wicked war which they instigated. The foundation of their institutions, both political, municipal, and social, must be broken up and relaid, or all our blood and treasure have been spent in vain. This can only be done by treating and holding them as a conquered people.

It matters but little whether you call them States out of the Union or conquered territories. Nobody pretends that with their old constitutions and frames of government they can be permitted to claim their old rights under the Constitution. They have torn their constitutional States into atoms and built on their foundations fabrics of a totally different character. Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead states cannot restore their existence "as it was." The late war between two acknowledged belligerents severed their original compacts and broke all the ties that bound them together. The future condition of the conquered power depends on the will of the conqueror. They must come in as new states or remain as conquered provinces.



### George Julian



I would hang 40 or 50 of the most conspicuous rebel leaders, not for vengeance, but to satisfy public justice, and to make expensive the enterprise of treason for all to come. If these men are not punished, and you allow the infernal poison to sift itself down into the general mind that treason is no crime, in a little while we shall be shaking hands with our dear southern brethren, the government may get back into its old ruts, and another horrid war may result.

Next, you ought to take these hanged leaders' large landed estates and parcel them out among our soldiers and seamen, and the poor people of the South, black and white, as a basis of real democracy. The leading rebels are the great southern landlords. One half to three fourths of all the cultivated land belongs to them, and if you take it, you would not disturb the rights of the great body of the people in the South. If you don't do something of that kind, you will have in the rebel States a system almost as deplorable as slavery itself.

Rich Yankees will go down there and buy up these estates and establish a system of wage slavery, of serfdom over the poor that would be just as intolerable as the old system of servitude.

### Follow-Up Questions:

Why does Thaddeus Stevens believe that the rebel states should be punished?

According to Stevens, who has the right to determine the future of the rebel states? Why?

What treatment does George Julian recommend for the leaders of the rebel states?

Why does Julian believe that the government should give the estates of the rebel leaders to the poor people of the South?

# PLANS FOR RECONSTRUCTION

<i>Lincoln's Plan</i>	<i>Johnson's Plan</i>	<i>Radical's Plan</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Believed the _____ had never been broken; _____ shouldn't be treated harshly</li> <li>• Southern states could _____ as soon as _____% of those eligible to vote before the war pledged loyalty to the Union.</li> <li>• High ranking _____ officials could not _____</li> <li>• Lincoln was _____ before he could implement his plan.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• generally followed Lincoln's plan but also granted _____ to southerners who took an oath.</li> <li>• new state constitutions were drawn up: Prohibited: _____ and _____.</li> <li>• States must ratify _____ (end to _____)</li> </ul> <p>Plan didn't work; it was seen as TOO MILD!</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• believed the Union had been broken; the south should be _____ harshly.</li> <li>• disagreed with Lincoln about military authority and believed that provisional governments should be set up in the south</li> <li>• Late 1865, they took over Reconstruction: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Est. _____ in south</li> <li>* ensured voting rights for ALL</li> <li>* confiscated &amp; redistributed land</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

The Plan that was finally adopted:

## Military Reconstruction Plan of 1867

1. \_\_\_\_\_ has control until new governments are established.
2. Former slaves were guaranteed the right to \_\_\_\_\_ (15<sup>th</sup> Amendment).
3. States had to ratify the \_\_\_\_\_ (guaranteed citizenship).
4. Each state had to ratify a Congressionally approved \_\_\_\_\_. (Why do you suppose this condition was made?)

# Presidential v. Congressional Reconstruction Plans

	Presidential Reconstruction	Congressional Reconstruction
Responsibility for Reconstruction	President – Andrew Johnson, Democrat	Congress – vast majority Republican
Attitudes toward Blacks	No mention of black suffrage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universal black suffrage in the south</li> <li>• Federally- supported schools for blacks</li> </ul>
Dealing with Confederates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amnesty and restoration of property for most Southerners who take an oath of allegiance</li> <li>• Even high-ranking officials were pardoned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disenfranchisement of most of prewar planter class</li> <li>• Wanted to redistribute land to Blacks</li> </ul>
Postwar Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set up provisional governments; many former Confederates back in office</li> <li>• State constitutions had to:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Recognize the abolition of slavery</li> <li>◦ Reject nullification</li> <li>◦ Repudiate Confederate debts</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Divided former confederacy into military districts</li> <li>• States had to:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Approve new constitutions by majority of votes</li> <li>◦ Ratify the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment</li> </ul> </li> </ul>



# *Andrew Johnson's Impeachment*

**Instructions:** Complete the reading about Andrew Johnson's impeachment and answer the questions that follow.

1. Describe Johnson's background that attracted Lincoln to offer him the vice presidency.
2. What were the goals of the Radical Republicans for the reconstruction of the Union?
  - a.
  - b.
  - c.
3. After the war, what observations did the Radical Republicans make as to the situation that existed in the South?
4. What were Black Codes? (Give examples) Who were they meant to target?
5. Fill in the chart on the Fourteenth Amendment:

14 <sup>th</sup> Amendment	
What did it guarantee?	
What was Johnson's opinion of this Amendment?	

6. Fill in the chart:

<b>Radical Republican's Reconstruction Plan</b>	<b>What did it provide?</b>
Military Reconstruction Act	
Command of the Army Act	
Tenure of Office Act	

7. Which of the acts did President Johnson violate? Why did he do that?

8. What was the outcome of the trial?

## THE SOUTH DURING RECONSTRUCTION

I. The \_\_\_\_\_ dominated Southern politics during Reconstruction, supported by \_\_\_\_\_ settlers from the North and African Americans. In fact, many African Americans were even elected to office: 16 to the HOR and 2 to the U.S. Senate. Even some white Southerners supported Reconstruction, many being non-slaveholding farmers or businesspeople who had opposed \_\_\_\_\_. These were called "\_\_\_\_\_" meaning "scoundrel" or "worthless rascal" by southerners. Northern whites who moved to the South, called "\_\_\_\_\_" were also met with resistance and hatred by former Confederates who accused them of dishonest behavior and corruption.

### II. Resistance to Reconstruction

A. Plantation owners resisted the expanded rights for African Americans and tried to keep \_\_\_\_\_ over freed people by:

1. telling them they were not free to leave the \_\_\_\_\_
2. refusing to \_\_\_\_\_ them land
3. (storeowners) refusing to give African Americans \_\_\_\_\_
4. (\_\_\_\_\_) refusing to give them work

B \_\_\_\_\_: a secret society to \_\_\_\_\_ freedmen

1. used \_\_\_\_\_ before elections to scare African Americans & keep them from \_\_\_\_\_
2. supporters thought the Klan was fighting the Republican rule to restore white \_\_\_\_\_ in the south

### III. Changes in Farming

A. Sharecropping

B. Tenant Farming

C. Effects on South

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. debt & poverty
3. rise of \_\_\_\_\_

### IV. Funding of Reconstruction

A. \_\_\_\_\_: poll taxes, \_\_\_\_\_ taxes, luxury taxes

B. \_\_\_\_\_ occurred during this Reconstruction: bribes, personal loans, graft

## V. End of Reconstruction

### A. People \_\_\_\_\_

1. southern states in heavy \_\_\_\_\_
2. southerners resented " \_\_\_\_\_ "
3. as fed. troops withdrew, freedmen were prevented from \_\_\_\_\_
4. northern states never fully supported \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Growth of "Solid South" meaning solidly Democratic south

### C. Election of \_\_\_\_\_

1. Hayes v. Tilden
  - a. Tilden received 250,000 more votes than Hayes
  - b. the electoral votes in 3 southern states were disputed
    - c. a \_\_\_\_\_ was formed to settle the dispute: 8R-7D
    - d. Dems promised a \_\_\_\_\_
    - e. \_\_\_\_\_: If Dems in HOR would give the election to Hayes, the last of the fed. troops would be removed from LA & SC
    - f. end of Reconstruction

## VI. End of Reconstruction meant the end of civil liberties for Freedmen

### A. Racism became a part of southern life

1. \_\_\_\_\_
  - a. poll taxes
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_ tests
  - c. grandfather clause
2. Jim Crow Laws
  - a. *Plessy v. Ferguson*: "separate but equal"
  - b. A "color line"

## VII. Black Response

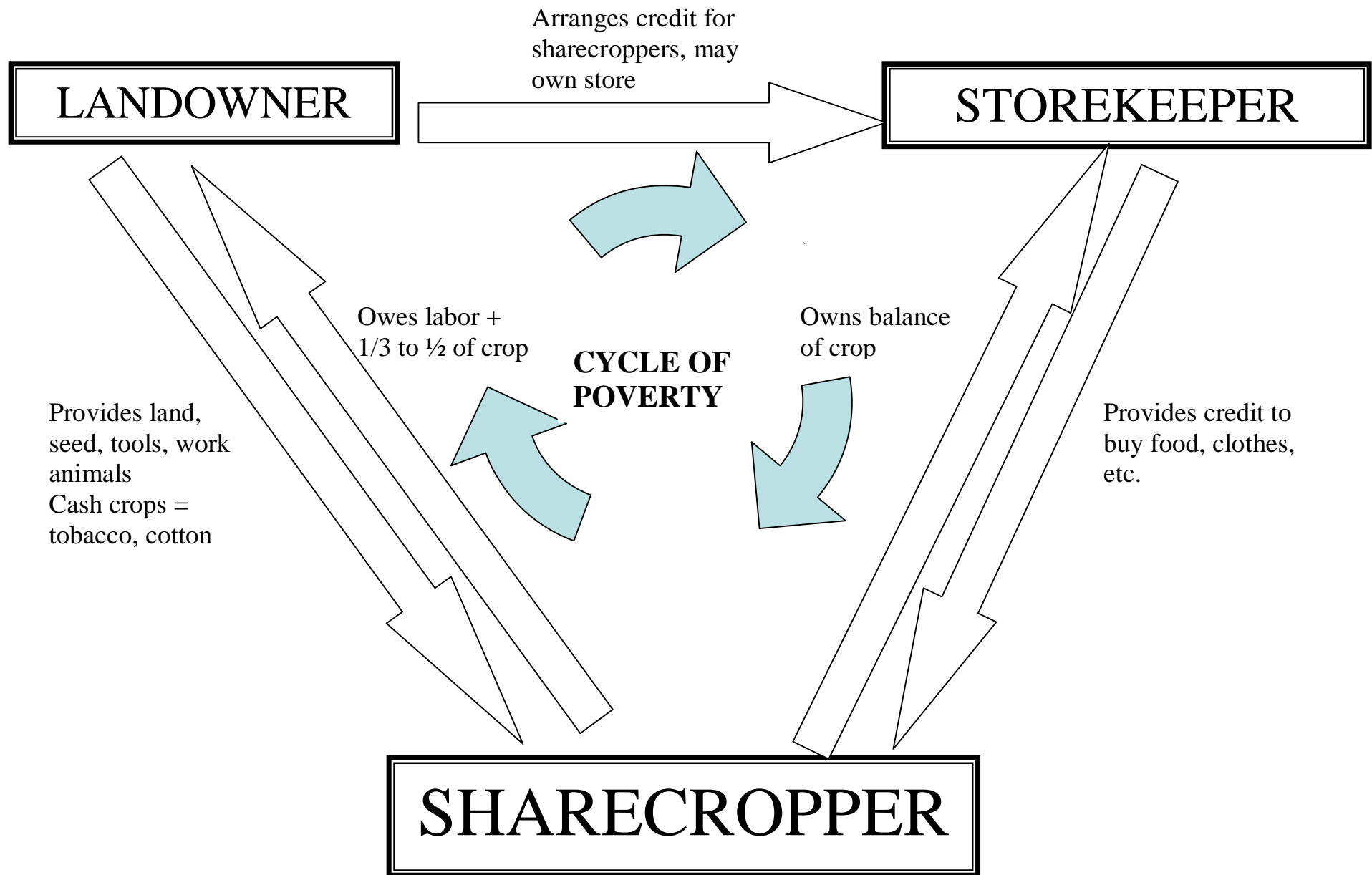
### A. \_\_\_\_\_

1. to Africa: 200 to Liberia
2. to North: de facto segregation
3. to West

### B. Self Help

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Universities & Colleges (Tuskegee, Howard)
3. Organizations: \_\_\_\_\_, Booker T. Washington, WEB Dubois

# The Sharecropping System



# The Language of the Law

## Amendment XIV (1868) Protection of Citizens' Rights

Section 1: All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; and shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

1. Whom does the Fourteenth Amendment protect?
2. Whose actions are limited by this amendment?
3. What rights are guaranteed through this amendment?
4. What is *due process*? What cannot be taken away with due process?
5. What are *privileges* and *immunities*?
6. What values are protected by this amendment?
7. Why was this amendment created?

### 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment Cases Matrix

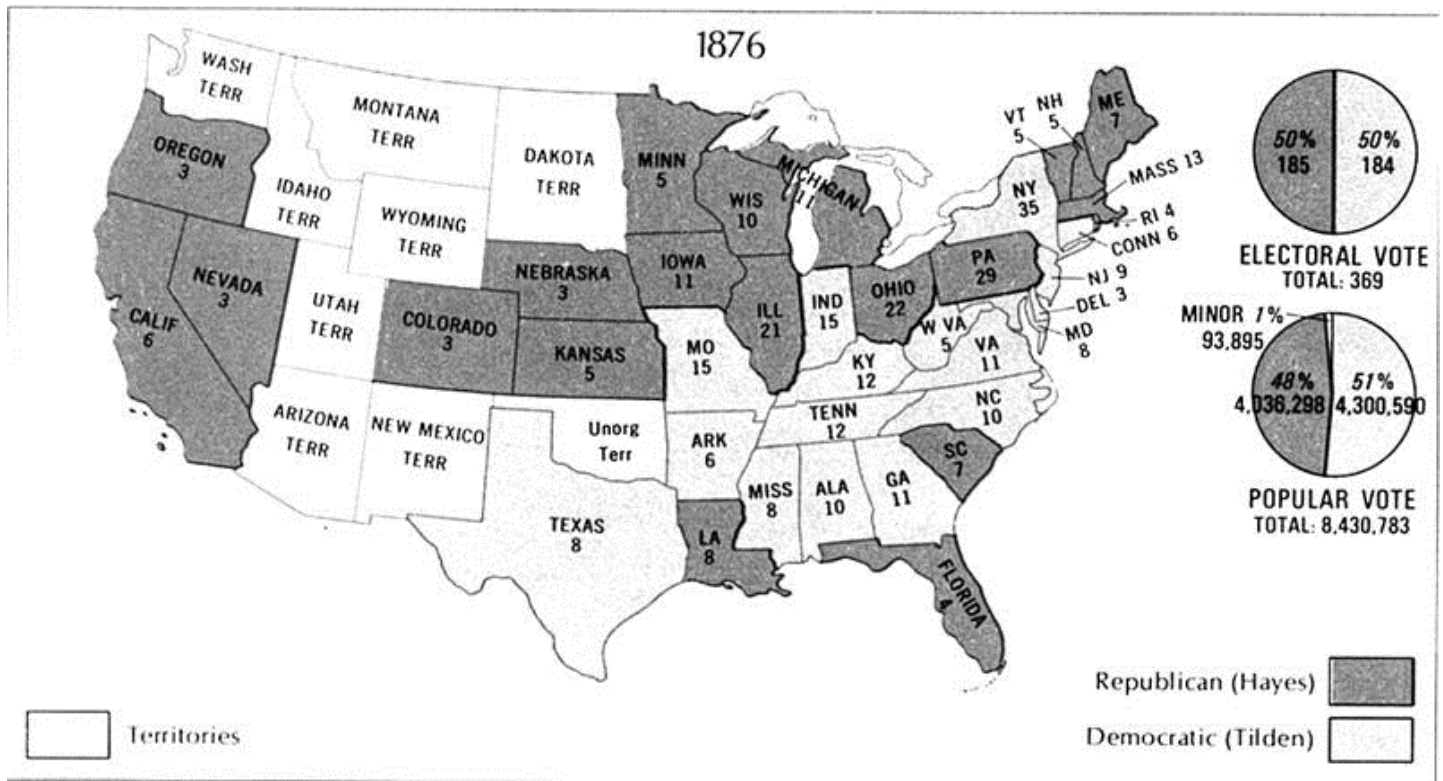
CASE	FACTS- of the case	ISSUE- What was the issue before the court?	DECISION-circle yes or no & provide an explanation of the court
PLESSY v FERGUSON (1886)			<u>Yes or No</u> <i>Did the action taken deny the person of life, liberty, property or were they refused equal treatment?</i> <u>EXPLANATION OF COURT</u>
MULLER v OREGON (1908)			<u>Yes or No</u> <i>Did the action taken deny the person of life, liberty, property or were they refused equal treatment?</i> <u>EXPLANATION OF COURT</u>

CASE	FACTS- of the case	ISSUE- What was the issue before the court?	DECISION-circle yes or no & provide an explanation of the court
BROWN v BOARD OF EDUCATION (1954)			<u>Yes or No</u> <i>Did the action taken deny the person of life, liberty, property or were they refused equal treatment?</i> <u>EXPLANATION OF COURT</u>
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA v BAKKE (1978)			<u>Yes or No</u> <i>Did the action taken deny the person of life, liberty, property or were they refused equal treatment?</i> <u>EXPLANATION OF COURT</u>



## The Election of 1876

The disputed presidential election of 1876 set the stage for the final stage of Reconstruction – the removal of all federal troops from the last three “unreconstructed” Southern states: Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida.



How was it possible that Hayes “won” the election of 1876?

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How did this disputed election lead to the end of Reconstruction?

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Instructions: With your partner, read the provided material on Booker T. Washington or W.E. B. DuBois. When you have finished, fill out your side of the diagram, taking notes on the important aspects of this individual. When you have finished, push your desks together to work with a partner to fill out the other portion of the diagram.



Booker T. Washington

<http://www.b-sidenation.com/images/bsidepics1/booker%20t%20washington1.jpg>  
<http://img.timeinc.net/time/2002/bhm/history/images/dubois.jpg>



W.E.B. Dubois

Major ideas	Similarities and differences	Major Ideas

## To what extent was Reconstruction a failure?

Identify each of the following factual statements as either a success (S) or failure (F) of Reconstruction.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Congressional Reconstruction brought the 11 Confederate states back into the union.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. In order to get Congressional Reconstruction passed, the Radical Republicans had to impeach Andrew Johnson for violating the Tenure of Office Act. This was using the impeachment process as a political tool.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The New South's industrial base stimulated economic growth in the region.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. The industrialization that took hold in the South was mostly based on semi-finished goods that were shipped to the factories in the North. Thus, the South still lagged behind the industrialized economy of the North.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Under Congressional Reconstruction, carpetbaggers and scalawags who were notoriously corrupt ran the Republican South.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Under Congressional Reconstruction, ex-Confederates were not allowed to hold office or vote.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment abolished slavery.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Sharecropping and tenant farming replaced slavery with a form of economic servitude for the Freedmen.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment guaranteed equal protection under the law to all races.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. The Supreme Court case Plessy v Ferguson legitimized segregation of the South under the doctrine of "separate but equal."
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. The 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment gave African-American males the right to vote.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Southern states passed various licensing laws that restricted the ability of African-Americans to vote, such as the literacy test, grandfather clause, and poll tax.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. The Freedmen's Bureau helped educate 250,000 freed slaves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. The Freedmen's Bureau was under funded and was dismantled in 1869.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Public education became mandatory in the South.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. Taxes in the south increased tremendously. In Virginia, property taxes went up by 400%.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. The Compromise of 1877 resulted in the Democratic Party coming back into Power (Solid South) and establishing segregation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. Segregation would legally exist in the South until 1964.

## Effects of Reconstruction

What grade would you give Reconstruction?

Until quite recently, historians saw reconstruction as a dismal failure, a time s imply of corrupt and incompetent government in the south. Today most historians argue that the truth is more complex.

Read through each of the following issues that needed to be resolved during Reconstruction. Following each issue, there will be evidence as to its resolution. Evaluate each resolution on a grading scale of F-, with F equaling complete failure, D equally failure with isolated aspects of success, C equaling average, B equaling above average, and A equally complete success.

**Physical Issue:** Following the Civil War the South was devastated. The war had destroyed two thirds of southern shipping, 9,000 miles of railroads. It had devoured farmlands, farm buildings, farm machinery, work animals, and one-third of all livestock, bridges, canals and levees, and thousands of miles of roads. Factories, ports and cities lay smoldering. The value of Southern property had plunged by 70%.

*Resolution:*

**Positive:** Reconstruction stimulated economic growth in the South and North. Small-scale manufacturing was implemented in the New South and cities like Atlanta rose like the Phoenix from the ashes.

**Negative:** While Reconstruction programs resulted in the rebuilding and expansion of Southern infrastructure, the region was slow to industrialize. The Southern economy continued to emphasize agriculture and lag far behind the industrialized North.

What grade should Reconstruction be awarded for dealing with the physical destruction of the South? Explain.

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**The Freedmen:** Following the Civil War over 5 million slaves were freed through the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. This presented significant challenges as these people needed to be assimilated into society.

*Resolution:*

Positive: The 14<sup>th</sup> and 15 Amendments guaranteed African-American the rights of citizenship, equal protection under the law, and suffrage (the right to vote). African-Americans gained the right to testify in court and to sit on juries. The Freedman's Bureau and other organizations helped many black families obtain housing, jobs and schooling. Southern states adopted the system of tax-supported, mandatory education practiced in the North. This increased access to education benefited whites and blacks alike.

Negative: As in the era of slavery, most black southerners remained in a cycle of poverty that allowed no escape. African-Americans still lacked property, economic opportunity and political power. After the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, southern state governments and terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) effectively denied African-Americans the right to vote. Those that were not intimidated from voting were legally barred by state laws such as the literacy test for voting, the grandfather clause (you could only vote if your grandfather had voted), or the poll tax, a special tax one had to pay before voting (this kept poor whites and blacks away from the polls). Furthermore, the ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson allowed the southern states to segregate the races as long as the facilities were equal.

What grade should Reconstruction be awarded for providing rights to the freedmen? Explain.

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**Federalism:** Although the Emancipation Proclamation made the Civil War a war over the issue of slavery, the true issue was federalism. The states of the south felt that they did not have to follow orders from the national government and the national government felt that the southern states should be subservient (give in to) its laws. Although the North won the Civil War, the question as to whether the southern states would follow laws passed by the national government still existed.

*Resolution:*

Positive: The eleven states of the confederacy rejoined the union by ratifying the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Amendments. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment made the states accountable for providing rights promised in the Bill of Rights to all citizens, and the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment provided suffrage (the right to vote) to all males.

Negative: Although the southern states did ratify the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, the ruling in Plessy v Ferguson allowed the state government to separate the races as long as the facilities were equal. This led to the development of Jim Crow laws, which targeted African-Americans. The states technically obeyed the nation government's orders to provide civil rights to African-Americans, but in reality were still discriminating against them. This trend continued in other areas where the states felt they had reserved power. They segregated schools, as the state is in charge of education. They prohibited African-Americans from moving into white neighborhoods, as property ownership was considered intrastate (within the state) commerce. They even went as far as to ban marriage between the races as the state is in charge of licensing marriage. What grade should Reconstruction be awarded for enforcing federalism? Explain.

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What total grade should Reconstruction be awarded. \_\_\_\_\_

Answer the following question using information this and the previous activity.

## To what extent was Reconstruction a failure?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

# Legacy of Reconstruction

The successes of Reconstruction	The failures of Reconstruction
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The 2 main goals, to _____ the Union &amp; help _____ the South, were accomplished</li> <li>➤ Economic _____ in the South was _____ &amp; new wealth was created in the North.</li> <li>➤ _____ Amendments were passed, which guaranteed African Americans the rights of _____, equal protection under the law &amp; suffrage. They also gained the right to testify in court and to sit on _____.</li> <li>➤ Freedmen's Bureau helped many black families w/ _____.</li> <li>➤ The South adopted a tax-supported, _____ education system as in the _____.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Most black Americans remained in a cycle of poverty w/ little chance of escape. They lacked _____ &amp; had little chance of obtaining property.</li> <li>➤ Terrorist organizations like the _____</li> <li>➤ Racist attitudes continued in the South &amp; in the North.</li> <li>➤ Reconstruction left bitterness among white southerners toward the fed'l gov't &amp; _____.</li> <li>➤ The south was slow to _____ &amp; the southern economy continued to emphasize _____.</li> <li>➤ Reconstruction didn't address the concerns of _____ who wanted the regulation of RR's nor of _____ who wanted safer working conditions, or _____ who wanted the right to vote.</li> </ul>